their readiness to let the S-D party make decisions for them. Now they were asking my advice on economic questions. I had no desire to go back to political struggle, but to advise the unions on economic policy might be different. My advice might be useful to them and the whole labor movement in Germany. It was worth trying.

I decided to accept the offer of the ADGB.

AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE GERMAN LABOR UNIONS

The ADGB directly represented about eighty per cent of German organized labor, and its influence was increased by the German system of plant councils and compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. The board of the ADGB consisted of two dozen presidents of the largest national unions. Leipart, former head of the Lumber Workers' Union, presided. All the board members had risen from the ranks of manual labor. None of them had the quality of a great leader, but they were all able men, devoted to their unions, unimaginative, honest, and, above all, good German patriots.

The senior professional staff of the federation consisted mainly of self-educated union men, hard-working and competent in their fields. There were only two intellectuals in key positions: Lothar Erdman, the chief of the publications department and editor of the monthly periodical, *Die Arbeit*, and I. Erdman had a broad philosophical education, and his aim was to inspire the labor unions to an active role in defending the nation's cultural values and, above all, its cultural freedom. He was a self-effacing man who never spoke in public and seldom signed his articles, but his ideas found expression in resolutions and declarations of the ADGB and in speeches he wrote for Leipart. He opposed pacifism and was as nationalist a German as other labor leaders, but his nationalism was of a special kind. He was convinced that a new war was unavoidable. After her defeat Germany must seek revenge.

Once, when we were discussing the role of Germany in the League of Nations, Erdman turned to the wall map of Germany above his desk and said mildly, "Suppose you found this map in an old parchment, knowing nothing of the country except how it looked after a defeat." Then, pointing to the corridor separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany, he continued, "Wouldn't you conclude that this country either went to war again to rectify its frontiers or perished because of lack of faith in itself?" But Erdman abhorred anti-Semitism even more than pacifism. "Germany has been humiliated enough by her powerful enemies," he once said at a board meeting,